

好奇心的机制及作用

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摘 要 作为一种常见的心理状态和人格特质, 好奇心是认知心理学研究领域中的重要主题。大脑多个脑区的分工和协同作用, 使个体形成了产生与评估预测误差、触发与缓解好奇心以及产生惊奇与新预测误差的认知过程。这些认知过程能够减少对事物和环境的预测误差与信息差距, 消除对事物的不确定性。好奇心在个体终生发展过程中, 对促进认知功能, 保持心理和身体健康有积极的作用。未来研究可以从跨物种、跨学科和多领域交叉的角度切入, 推动好奇心主题研究的深入、研究手段的发展以及研究成果的应用。

关键词 好奇心, 探索行为, 信息寻求, 预测误差, 信息差距, 心理健康

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The mechanism and function of curiosity

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Abstract: Curiosity has a long history of research and rich definitions and classifications as a common mental state and personality trait. The division and coordination of multiple brain regions enable individuals to form a cognitive process of generating and evaluating prediction error, triggering and mediating curiosity, and producing surprise and new prediction error, so as to reduce

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the prediction error and information gap between internal states and external environment, and eliminate uncertainty. Curiosity has a significant role in improving cognitive function and maintaining mental and physical health during development. Future research can be further considered from a cross-species, interdisciplinary, and multi-domain perspective to promote the deepening of research topics, the development of research methods, and the application of research results in curiosity.

Key words: curiosity, exploratory behavior, information seeking, prediction error, information gap, mental health

1 引言

好奇心是一种人类普遍存在的心理状态,也是科学研究的必需心理品质之一。人们在互联网上认识陌生人、猎奇逸闻趣事、探索未知世界等行为,都可以视作信息时代中好奇心驱动的行为。物理学家爱因斯坦对“神圣的好奇心”推崇备至,把它看作人类最宝贵的品质(吴绍兵, 赵丽宏, 2001)。人类的好奇心是哲学家、教育科学家、心理学家、神经科学家甚至计算科学家一直探索和感兴趣的课题(Galli et al., 2018)。

好奇心既是一种特质(好奇心体验的一种个体差异, Litman & Spielberger, 2003),也是一种情绪或动机状态,对学习和记忆有巨大影响,在儿童早期尤为明显。好奇心在儿童发展(Engel, 2011; Smock & Holt, 1962)和教育(Grossnickle, 2016; Oudeyer et al., 2016; Klahr et al., 2011)的研究中被广为关注,被认为在儿童的学习、预测学业成就以及成就动机方面起着核心作用(Renninger & Hidi, 2015; von Stumm et al., 2011)。

好奇心潜在的心理和神经机制,是当今好奇心研究的方向之一(Gruber & Ranganath, 2019; Kidd & Hayden, 2015; Kidd et al., 2012; Loewenstein, 1994)。好奇心是生物特有的一种认知状态或特质,越来越多的研究将人类好奇心的心理与神经机制研究成果通过计算科学应用到人工智能与机器人领域,使得机器人能够获得更加全面与逼真的人类智能(Gottlieb & Oudeyer, 2018; Kaplan & Oudeyer, 2007; Twomey & Westermann, 2015, 2018)。

当前国内好奇心有关综述主要集中在两大方向:关注不同理论流派视角对好奇心本质的解释(胡克祖, 2005; 李天然, 俞国良, 2015),以及从教育学与教育心理学角度关注幼儿好奇心的影响因素和在教育中的作用(董妍 等, 2017; 袁维新, 2013),鲜有对好奇心认知过程的神经机制进行总结以及从终生发展角度评述好奇心对个体的作用。本文主要评述了好奇心的概念与分类,好奇心的心理成分与神经机制,以及好奇心在促进个体认知功能、维持心理健康和身体健康的作用,并对当前好奇心研究的发展现状进行总结与展望,希望为研究者提供好奇心研究的最新洞见。

2 好奇心的概念

2.1 好奇心的定义

好奇心既包括对于当前知识性问题答案的渴望,也包含在长远视角中的战略部署(Gottlieb et al., 2013)。作为一种重要的心理状态,好奇心的概念发展历史

悠久(见图 1), 已有许多理论流派对好奇心提出了定义和解释 (胡克祖, 2005; 李天然, 俞国良, 2015)。James (1899)认为, 好奇心是一种为了更好地认知的冲动, 即驱使人们去探索未知事物的一种欲望; Freud (1915)认为, 好奇心是一种个体对知识的渴望; 而 Harlow (1950)认为好奇心是一种操作性的动机, 驱使个体进行没有任何实质回报的解决问题的行为; Cohen 等(1955)认为好奇心是一种了解和理解外部世界的需求; Loewenstein (1994)认为好奇心是一种由内部驱动的信息寻求的特殊形式, 该定义与理论受到广泛认可。这些研究者对好奇心提出了来自本能论、驱力论及认知论的定义, 提供了不同角度的观点, 丰富了人类对好奇心概念的认知。Grossnickle (2016)整合前人对好奇心的定义, 发现四种好奇心的定义特征, 包括对知识或信息的需求、探索行为、对照变量(collative variables: 包括不确定性、意外性、新颖性和复杂性)及情绪唤醒。基于此, Grossnickle 重新评估并提出一个比较全面的定义: 个体在经历或寻找某个对照性变量时, 对知识或信息的渴望, 并伴随着积极的情绪、强烈的唤醒或探索性的行为。该定义较全面涵盖了心理学对好奇心的定义。之后, Dubey 和 Griffiths (2020)从计算建模的角度提出, 好奇心是一种整合了基于新奇和复杂性理论的未来奖励最大化机制。因此, 好奇心的定义在经历了不同理论流派的碰撞后, 开始整合与交汇, 并且在多学科碰撞和交叉中继续发展。

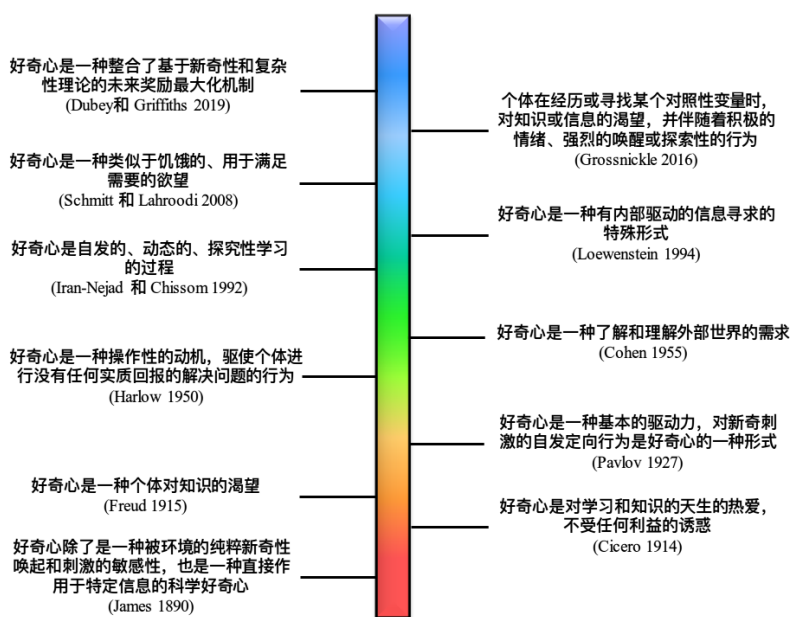


图 1 近现代好奇心重要定义的发展时间线

2.2 好奇心的分类

2.2.1 基于好奇对象的分类

Daniel Berlyne 是 20 世纪最重要的好奇心研究者之一, 他从两个维度将好奇心区分为四种类型。其中一个维度是依据好奇对象进行分类, 从知觉性(perceptual)到认知性(epistemic)的好奇心(Berlyne, 1954)。知觉性好奇心和认知性好奇心的对象不同。知觉性好奇心是一种促使个体通过感官刺激寻找新异信息的驱动力, 这种驱动力会随着持续接触而减弱(Berlyne, 1954; Litman & Spielberger, 2003)。它不仅是动物和人类婴儿阶段探索行为的主要驱动力, 也是成年人探索行为的驱动力之一(Berlyne, 1954)。而认知性好奇心是一种获得知识与信息的需求和渴望(Kang et al., 2009; Litman, 2005), 以消除当时的不确定性。它主要适用于

人类,因此这也是区分人类和动物的一个特征(Berlyne, 1966)。这种分类被广泛应用在好奇心研究中,例如冷知识范式(trivia paradigm)是诱发认知性好奇心的主要研究方式(Kang et al., 2009; Ligneul et al., 2018; Marvin & Shohamy, 2016),而模糊图片范式是诱发知觉性好奇心的研究范式之一(Jepma et al., 2012; Wiggin et al., 2019)。

Grossnickle (2016)按照好奇心的对象将其分成四类:物理性好奇心(physical curiosity)、知觉性好奇心(perceptual curiosity)、社会性好奇心(social curiosity)和认知性好奇心(epistemic curiosity, 或称为信息寻求好奇心)。除 Berlyne (1954)提到的知觉性好奇心和认知性好奇心,还包括物理性好奇心和社会性好奇心。前者是指对自己和周围环境的探索和操控(Dewey, 1910),后者是指个体希望获得关于他人行为、想法、感受等新信息或与他人交往的愿望,在这种愿望的驱动下个体产生探索性行为(Renner, 2006; Robinson et al., 2017)。社会性好奇心也被称为人际性好奇心(interpersonal curiosity, 李天然, 俞国良, 2015),它指个体对他人的新信息产生好奇,包括他人的生活经历、生活习惯和细节,以及内在的想法、感受、兴趣等的信息(Litman & Pezzo, 2007)。

2.2.2 基于产生好奇的原因的分类

Berlyne (1954)提到的另外一个维度则是根据好奇的原因进行分类,从特异性(specific)到多样性(diversive)的好奇心。特异性好奇心是指对特定信息的一种渴望。而多样性好奇心是指对于知觉或认知刺激的一种普遍性渴望。例如,当老鼠在没有任何明确任务的情况下,倾向于探索迷宫中不熟悉的部分,就是多样性好奇心的体现。

根据产生好奇的原因也可将好奇心分成兴趣型好奇心和剥夺型好奇心(Litman, 2010)。兴趣型好奇心是指渴望获得新信息以获得乐趣或兴趣,它与寻求未知信息所对应的积极情感反应相关联,个体预期未知信息会激发兴趣(Litman, 2008, 2010);剥夺型好奇心是指渴望获得新信息以减少未知或无知的感觉,它与焦虑、抑郁和愤怒的特征形式成正相关(Litman, 2010; Litman & Jimerson, 2004)。这种分类有助于理解为何好奇心会唤醒不同效价的情绪。

此外,好奇心也可以分成工具性好奇心与非工具性好奇心。工具性好奇心是指一种探索和寻求信息的欲望,以达到一个目标,或在短(长)期内获得最大回报(Daw et al., 2006)。非工具性好奇心是指个体探索某些本身有吸引力的信息,这种探索并不能最大化奖励或提高表现(van Lieshout et al., 2019)。人们对非工具性信息的好奇心表明,信息获取可能具有内在价值,帮助我们减少对世界的不确定性并适应环境(van Lieshout et al., 2018)。

2.2.3 基于稳定性的分类

好奇心不仅是个体对环境的反应所表现出来的暂时的好奇状态(Loewenstein, 1994),也可以是个体通过对环境特征的频繁反应或寻求好奇的机会来体验对新知识或经验渴望的一种持久的性格倾向(Kashdan & Fincham, 2004; Litman & Silvia, 2006)。大五人格中的开放性(openness)能够显著预测好奇心,这表明好奇心可能是一种稳定的人格特质(Kashdan et al., 2004)。Kashdan 等人(2009)提出,好奇心特质可以通过“延伸”(stretching)和“怀抱”(embracing)两个维度进行衡量,“延伸”代表寻求知识和新经验的动机,而“怀抱”代表愿意接受日常生活的新奇、不确定性以及不可预知。

特质好奇心可能与状态好奇心之间有一定关系。例如 Litman 等(2005)的研究表明,特质认知性好奇心与状态认知性好奇心成正相关,并且状态认知性好奇心

正向影响个体的探索行为。也有研究表明, 特质好奇心的个体差异也会影响好奇心驱动的探索行为(Kobayashi et al., 2019; Lydon-Staley et al., 2019)。

2.3 好奇心与其他认知驱动力的区别

2.3.1 好奇心与信息寻求

由于特异性好奇心和多样性好奇心都会驱动个体搜索获取信息, 因此当前普遍认为, 好奇心是信息寻求的一种特殊类型。好奇心与信息寻求的区别在于, 好奇心通常来源于内在驱动力, 而信息寻求则可能来自内在或外在两种驱动力(Loewenstein, 1994)。因此, 有研究者认为行为主体出于即时原因而寻求信息的行为并不是好奇心; 也有研究者将来自外在的驱动力纳入好奇心范畴, 并据此将好奇心分为工具性好奇心和非工具性好奇心以减少混淆。

2.3.2 好奇心与兴趣

虽然好奇心和兴趣是两个不同的概念, 但是两者存在一定关系(Ainley, 1987)。一方面, 好奇心和兴趣都被认为是内在的、自发的过程(Iran-Nejad & Cecil, 1992; Iran-Nejad & Chissom, 1992), 二者都与大脑奖赏系统有关(Berridge et al., 2009; Kang et al., 2009)。另一方面, 好奇心有可能会引起兴趣(Silvia, 2008)。Schmitt 和 Lahroodi (2008)认为, 认知性好奇心需要个体积累知识, 且往往是关于特定主题的知识。这些知识建立了后续的知识动机, 并帮助个体确定他们的兴趣。知识的增长与个人兴趣的结合建立了一个基础, 在此基础上, 个体能够提出好奇的问题, 这反过来有助于兴趣的持续发展(Hidi, 2006; Renninger, 2000)。

好奇心和兴趣混用的现象较为常见, 可从以下三个方面对二者进行区分:

1) 知识在其中的作用。兴趣需要知识的存在, 而好奇心表现为知识的缺失。在实证研究中, 知识在好奇心和兴趣的作用方面有明显的不同。好奇心的产生需要一些但不太多的知识来刺激后续的知识寻求(Kang et al., 2009; Loewenstein, 1994); 若对知识太熟悉, 个体可能会无聊厌烦; 若太新奇, 个体缺乏理解图式。相反, 当个体在一个领域内获得能力和专业知识时, 知识和个人兴趣都会相应地增加(Alexander, 2003; Hidi, 2006), 即对兴趣而言, 无需最佳知识水平。

2) 目标和导致的结果。好奇心的目标是减少不确定性和填补知识差距(knowledge gap); 而兴趣是追求愉悦和获得知识的过程(Grossnickle, 2016)。

3) 稳定性和可塑性。兴趣是对特定主题的积极感受, 而好奇心是追求新奇, 关注问题本身而非内容。另外, 从人格发展的观点来看, 持久的好奇心(即好奇心的特质)会由于环境和生物因素, 在未来出现某些可预测的发展趋势(Blonigen et al., 2008; McCrae & Costa, 1997); 然而 Alexander 提出的兴趣发展模型表明, 个体对特定领域、主题或对象兴趣的增长并不随着年龄变化(Alexander, 2003; Alexander et al., 1997)。

好奇心的定义在多学科交叉中继续发展; 好奇心的分类也得到广泛研究并在当前研究中得到应用, 为好奇心的心理成分和神经机制研究提供了细分化的研究主题和可操控的研究范式。

3 好奇心的心理成分和神经机制

Gruber 和 Ranganath (2019)认为, 好奇心对依赖海马的记忆的增强作用产生于一个包含预测误差、评估、好奇和探索的循环过程, 因此被称为 PACE (Prediction error, Appraisal, Curiosity, Exploratory)框架。以下, 我们将基于该框架, 整合当前最新研究成果, 提出好奇心的心理成分与神经机制理论框架(见图 2)。

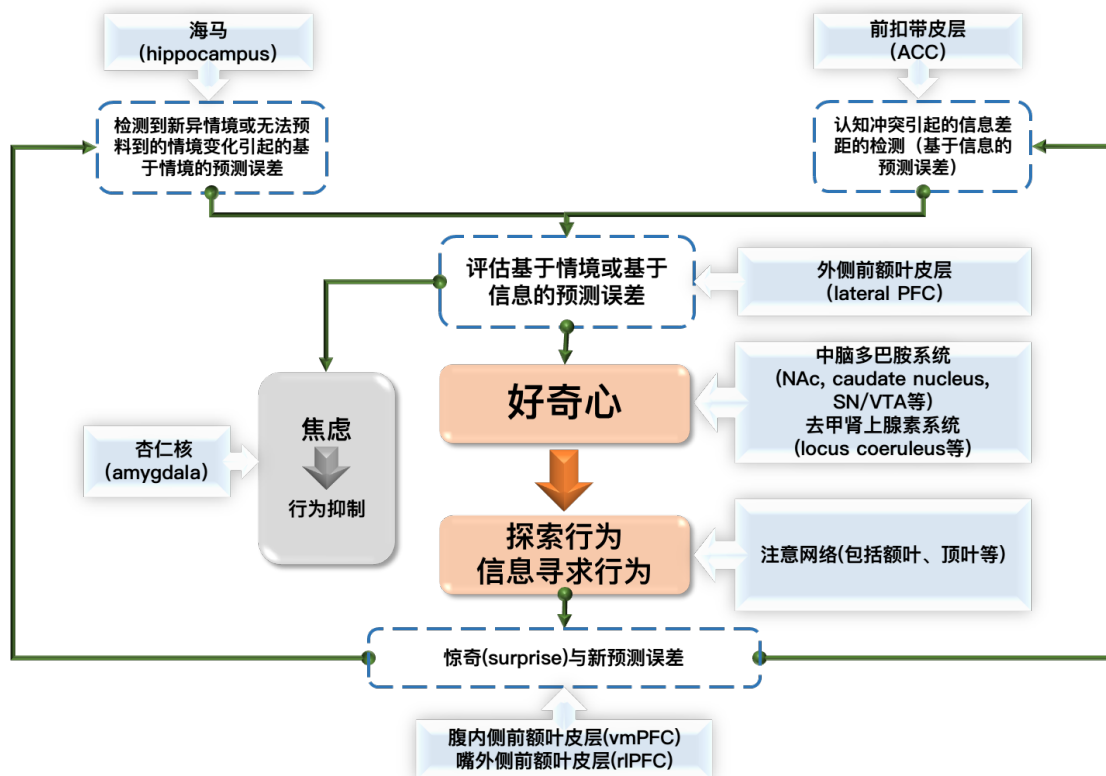


图2 好奇心的心理成分与神经机制理论框架

3.1 好奇心的来源：海马与前扣带皮层的作用

先验知识使人们能够对环境做出预测，因此在先验知识很少或事件违反个体预期时，预测误差就会发生。一种是基于情境(context)的预测误差，与海马(hippocampus)有关。海马是形成认知地图(cognitive map)的关键脑区，可使个体根据过去类似情境下的经验产生预测(O'Keefe & Nadel, 1979)。当个体处于一个新异环境或环境发生变化时，现实情境与海马产生的预测产生差距，反过来刺激海马神经元亚群(错位系统)，引起探索行为来解决不确定性(O'Keefe & Nadel, 1979)。研究表明，人类更倾向花更多时间看新异刺激(Kidd et al., 2012)或与之之前相比发生变化的区域(Hannula et al., 2012)，这种对新异性的探索使海马活动增强(Liu et al., 2017; Voss et al., 2017)。因此，海马被认为是与好奇心产生有关的脑区。

另一种是基于信息的预测误差，与前扣带皮层(anterior cingulate cortex, ACC)的活动有关。当个体在某一特定领域中想要理解的知识高于当前知识水平或违背原本的先验知识时，就会产生一种信息差距(information gap, 胡克祖, 2005; Gottlieb et al., 2013; Litman et al., 2005; Loewenstein, 1994)，此时 ACC 会发出认知冲突的信号，从而引发特定的认知性和感知性好奇心。通过个体的信息寻求行为，特定的认知好奇心可以减少信息差距所带来的不确定性。研究表明，个体对冷知识问题答案的好奇心是对于知道答案的信心的倒 U 型函数：当被试对答案一无所知或极度自信时，他们对答案最不感兴趣；当知道一些相关信息但缺乏信心时，好奇心最强(Kang et al., 2009)，该结果支持了信息差距的观点。当个体对魔术或对冷知识问题感到高度好奇时，ACC 显著激活(Lau et al., 2020)；当模糊图片成功诱发被试好奇心时，ACC 和前岛叶(anterior insula)显著激活(Jepma et al., 2012)。

3.2 对预测误差的评估：外侧前额叶皮层的作用

环境或信息引发的预测误差有时不足以引发好奇心，在某些情况下，还可能

产生相反的效果而引起焦虑。预测误差和信息差距会触发由外侧前额叶皮层(lateral prefrontal cortex, IPFC)支持的评估过程,从而决定一个人的行动是抑制还是探索,产生的主观体验是焦虑还是好奇(Gruber & Ranganath, 2019)。个体在这个阶段会权衡当前的不确定状态是否反映了潜在威胁,自己是否拥有解决不确定性所需的能力、知识和资源(Noordewier & van Dijk, 2016; Silvia, 2005)。如果个体认为自身有能力解决不确定性,这种预测误差就会引发好奇心和探索行为;反之,就会引发焦虑和行为抑制。因此,海马和前扣带皮层不仅参与探索行为,也在焦虑状态下对探索行为的抑制中起作用(Bannerman et al., 2003; Cullen et al., 2015)。

3.3 好奇心的处理: 中脑多巴胺系统与去甲肾上腺素系统的作用

中脑多巴胺系统是好奇心触发所涉及的一组脑区。好奇心会驱使个体寻找新信息减少当前的不确定性(Berlyne, 1960; Loewenstein, 1994),多巴胺神经调节系统能够刺激探索和信息寻求行为,增强信息编码和记忆巩固。研究表明,新异刺激与奖赏相关的脑区激活有关,包括伏隔核(NAc)、黑质(SN)和腹侧被盖区(VTA, Axmacher et al., 2010; Krebs et al., 2011);而好奇心增强了 NAc、尾状核(caudate nucleus)、SN/VTA 的激活(Gruber et al., 2014; Kang et al., 2009; Lau et al., 2020)。因此,好奇心可能与中脑多巴胺系统有关。

此外,处理新异和不确定性的刺激也与去甲肾上腺素系统相关(Sakaki et al., 2018),尤其是蓝斑(locus coeruleus, Devauges & Sara, 1990)。研究表明,蓝斑与被试加工意外的不确定性有关,这使个体更快的适应环境变化(Payzan-LeNestour et al., 2013)。因此好奇心可能与去甲肾上腺素系统有关。

3.4 好奇心引发的探索行为: 注意网络的作用

好奇心可以激发大脑额叶和顶叶等与注意有关的脑网络(Jepma et al., 2012; van Lieshout et al., 2018),并且与好奇心密切相关的中脑多巴胺系统也会促使个体对与过去或未来奖赏相关的刺激产生即时的注意力偏向(Anderson, 2016; Gottlieb & Oudeyer, 2018)。因此可以认为,个体通过增强注意力来维持好奇心触发之后的探索行为(Gruber & Ranganath, 2019)。研究表明,婴儿会受环境中一些简单启发,产生好奇心来引导自己注意世界中的某些中等复杂度的特征信息,以便能够更有效地探索世界,发展自身认知能力(Kidd & Hayden, 2015)。而眼动研究结果表明,被试会在冷知识问题答案出现之前将注视点预先调整到预期的答案位置,并且好奇心越强,注视点转移至预期答案位置的速度就越快。这使得好奇心能够决定注意分配和任务优先级,成为一种主动的学习和探索机制(Baranes et al., 2015)。

3.5 惊奇和新的不确定性: 腹内侧与嘴外侧前额叶皮层的作用

每次好奇心相关信息呈现都会引发个体不同程度的惊奇(surprise),而人类的认知系统代表在情境中的平均惊奇(average surprise)的数量(Ligneul et al., 2018)。在信息寻求中新获得的信息有可能带来惊奇和新的不确定性。根据预期编码理论,减少不确定性和惊奇是我们认知系统的主要功能(Clark, 2013; Friston et al., 2012)。因此,平均惊奇越高,短时间内可接受的不确定性就越多,这会抑制个体的非特异性认知好奇心,避免更多新的不确定性来源;而平均惊奇越低,个体可能会积极进行不定向的探索,增强非特定性好奇心来实现他们对惊奇的期望。惊奇可能会引发新的预测误差,产生新的好奇心,促进进一步的探索(Vogl et al., 2020)。研究表明,腹内侧前额叶皮层(ventromedial prefrontal cortex, vmPFC)的活动计算了好奇心引发的惊奇,而嘴外侧前额叶皮层(rostrrolateral prefrontal cortex, rlPFC)的

活动编码了呈现冷知识问题答案时惊奇的预测误差,以实现平均惊奇与非特异性好奇心间的调节(Ligneul et al., 2018)。

在神经科学研究的推动下,个体好奇心发生发展的心理机制(理论)得到了更系统的整合。大脑多个脑区的分工与协同,使得个体形成了产生与评估预测误差、触发与缓解好奇心以及产生惊奇与新预测误差的认知过程。虽然当前研究表明,可能大脑认知过程的不同阶段并非都由单个脑区负责,而是多个脑区的协同活动(例如,构建大脑功能连接),但本文提出的好奇心心理成分与神经机制的理论框架,有助于理解好奇心的认知过程的不同阶段及其神经机制,对好奇心脑机制研究有参考意义。

4 好奇心的作用

好奇心在个体终生发展过程中具有普遍的作用和意义,我们将从促进学习、记忆与创造力、注意等认知功能、保持心理健康和身体健康等方面评述好奇心的作用。

4.1 好奇心对认知功能的作用

4.1.1 好奇心与学习和记忆

好奇心能够促进个体学习和记忆。人类自婴儿起就是好奇的学习者,因为世界充满了潜在的学习资源,他们会通过在学习环境中建立结构来驱动自己的认知发展(Kidd & Hayden, 2015; Pereira et al., 2013)。对于在学前、小学阶段的儿童和中学阶段的青少年,好奇心和学术成就之间都存在正相关(Froiland et al., 2015; Shah et al., 2018; Tucker-Drob et al., 2016)。一项使用冷知识问题范式的研究表明,呈现答案前对问题的好奇心促进了儿童和青少年对于问题的记忆,并且呈现答案后的惊奇促进了青少年对于问题的记忆(Fandakova & Gruber, 2019)。另外一项研究结果表明,年轻人和老年人对感到好奇的材料的记忆都强于对无聊材料的记忆(Fastrich et al., 2018; McGillivray et al., 2015),对意外结果事件也都表现出更强的学习能力(Nassar et al., 2016; Nassar et al., 2012)。

研究结果表明,在记忆编码后即时或短暂延迟后进行回忆测试,与好奇心相关的记忆显著增强(Galli et al., 2018; Wade & Kidd, 2019);而 Gruber 等人(2014)在冷知识问题中交错插入被试不认识的中性面孔照片作为学习探针。回忆面孔的测试的结果表明,对冷知识问题有高好奇心的被试比低好奇心的被试对面孔的记忆成绩更好。这表明,无论人们对事物是否好奇或感兴趣,好奇心状态都有助于更好的学习。

当个体遇到新异或意料之外的事情并体验到好奇心时,多巴胺和去甲肾上腺素通过调节海马活动来促进学习(Oudeyer et al., 2016)。纹状体、SN/VTA 不仅共同调节海马内侧颞叶的活动,而且在处理新异刺激时,与海马活动的增强和记忆和学习能力的提高有关(Bunzeck et al., 2012; Lisman & Grace, 2005)。多巴胺也能够增强依赖海马的记忆巩固(Lisman & Grace, 2005; Shohamy & Adcock, 2010)。此外,与蓝斑活动相关的情绪引起的阶段性觉醒会调节学习和海马功能(Mather et al., 2016; Sakaki et al., 2014),这表明好奇心对学习的增强作用也可能与蓝斑有关。

4.1.2 好奇心与创造力

好奇心能够促进个体的创造力。许多研究已证实,好奇心越强,创造力越强(Celik et al., 2016; Hardy et al., 2017; Peljko et al., 2016; Puente-Díaz & Cavazos-Arroyo, 2017),Schutte 和 Malouff (2019)的元分析也发现了创造力随着好奇心的增强而增强。首先,好奇心有助于分析问题和收集信息。定义问题和收集信息是

创造力过程的初始步骤(Mumford & McIntosh, 2017), 而好奇心可能引发个体信息寻求行为, 识别和定义需要解决的问题, 因此好奇心可能是创造力的一个推动力。其次, 好奇心可能是一种积极情绪(Fredrickson, 1998), 鼓励个体的新异性想法和行为, 这反过来又会促进能力和资源的发展, 进行自我扩展和构建(Fredrickson & Joiner, 2018)。此外, 思想联系(idea linking, Hagtvedt et al., 2019)以及心流(flow, Schutte & Malouff, 2020)在好奇心和创造力之间起到了中介作用。

4.1.3 好奇心与注意

好奇心会影响个体的注意力。好奇心可以解释婴儿早期注意力有关行为的底层机制。好奇心会引导婴儿注意环境中的某些信息特征(Kidd & Hayden, 2015), 从而帮助他们更好地探索世界。例如, 婴儿的目光被高对比度的区域吸引, 有助于他们探测物体和知觉其形状(Salapatek & Kessen, 1966); 更多地关注移动物体, 有助于他们探测物体是否具有生命力(Aslin & Shea, 1990); 对于面孔的好奇心(Farroni et al., 2005)也有利于婴儿认知发育, 帮助他们获取社会信息以及指导语言学习的线索(Baldwin, 1993)。

4.1.4 好奇心与其他认知功能

好奇心对其他认知功能也存在积极影响。老年人的认知需求(即寻求和享受智力活动的倾向)能够预测认知能力(Baer et al., 2012), 而个体认知需求与好奇心相关(Olson et al., 1984), 这说明了好奇心可以防止因衰老导致的认知衰退。对新奇刺激的偏好与老年人更好的认知功能相关(Daffner et al., 2007; Daffner et al., 2006a, 2006b), 甚至会降低罹患阿尔茨海默病的风险(Fritsch et al., 2005)。相比熟悉的刺激, 被试对新异刺激的工作记忆表现更好 (Mayer et al., 2011)。这是由于和好奇心相关的多巴胺系统和去甲肾上腺素能系统都参与前额叶皮层活动, 并影响其功能, 例如工作记忆、个体自上而下的加工以及目标导向的行为等(Arnsten, 2011; Arnsten et al., 2015; Usher et al., 1999)。

4.2 好奇心对心理健康的作用

好奇心对个体保持心理健康有积极作用。首先, 好奇心可能会降低个体焦虑水平。弗洛伊德认为, 探索行为是由本能的生物冲动和自我机制决定的, 有助于减少威胁和不安全感(Aronoff, 1962)。已有相关研究表明了好奇心与焦虑之间的关系。从产生好奇的原因的分类角度看, 兴趣型好奇心产生与焦虑呈负相关, 而剥夺型好奇心与焦虑呈正相关(Litman, 2010; Litman & Jimerson, 2004); 从好奇的稳定性的分类角度看, 一般特质和状态好奇心与社交焦虑都存在负相关关系(Kashdan & Roberts, 2004, 2006)。但整体而言, 好奇心对焦虑的影响及其机制还缺乏来自因果关系的实证研究。

其次, 适度的好奇心可以减少心理障碍的发生。情感淡漠(apathy)是一种以缺乏动机为特征的综合症状, 影响个体行为、认知和情感, 且不能归因于智力障碍、情绪困扰或意识水平下降(Marin, 1991)。情感淡漠与认知功能较快衰退有关, 在除注意以外的所有认知表现中, 好奇心与情感淡漠的相关性最为明显(Montoya-Murillo et al., 2019)。换言之, 缺乏好奇心可能是情感淡漠最具代表性的症状。在轻度认知障碍(MCI)患者中, 有情感淡漠的患者比其他 MCI 患者更有可能发展为痴呆(Lancôt et al., 2017; Robert et al., 2008)。此外, 过度的好奇心会导致注意力分散, 这是注意力缺陷多动障碍(ADHD)等疾病的一种症状(Kidd & Hayden, 2015)。

好奇心的神经生理机制也表明好奇心对个体心理健康产生积极影响。好奇心的主观感受与纹状体活动相关(Gruber et al., 2014), 而纹状体中多巴胺与各种积

极情感状态有关(Burgdorf & Panksepp, 2006), 这表明个体对新奇刺激可能会产生积极的情感(Berlyne, 1970)。好奇心所涉及的去甲肾上腺素和多巴胺机制对心理健康和幸福感有长期影响(Sakaki et al., 2018)。此外, 积极心理学研究表明, 好奇心与幸福感(Park et al., 2004)、生活满意度之间呈正相关(Peterson et al., 2007)。

4.3 好奇心对身体健康的作用

好奇心对个体保持身体健康也有积极作用(Consedine & Moskowitz, 2007; Peterson et al., 2006)。首先, 好奇心促使人们灵活解决问题, 帮助人们有效应对生理和心理问题(Sakaki et al., 2018)。研究表明, Swan 和 Carmelli (1996)在研究中控制了年龄、教育水平和吸烟行为等其他风险因素后发现, 老年人好奇心越强, 5年后在世的可能性越高。其次, 好奇心能预测个体的身体机能。已有研究表明, 好奇心可以预测高血压和糖尿病(Richman et al., 2005)。此外, 好奇心对心理健康的影响可能中介了好奇心与身体健康的关系(Sakaki et al., 2018)。个体的焦虑和抑郁程度越高, 约 10 年后罹患冠心病的风险越大(Kubzansky et al., 2006); 有创伤后应激障碍(PTSD)症状的人在随访 14 年中更有可能发展成冠心病(Kubzansky et al., 2009), 而好奇心可以增强个体积极情绪, 减少消极情绪(例如上述的焦虑、抑郁情绪等), 从而帮助个体维持身体健康(DeSteno et al., 2013)。

5 总结与展望

好奇心的概念正不断地被明确和完善, 好奇心的分类也越来越多样, 这对好奇心的研究提供了细分化的研究主题和可操控的研究范式。综合前人研究, 我们重点关注好奇心的心理成分和神经机制, 构建了好奇心认知过程阶段的理论框架。从进化角度看, 好奇心是适应的结果(Loewenstein, 1994), 因此它在个体终生发展过程中具有重要作用。作为跨学科、多领域交叉的研究主题, 好奇心近年来的研究结果和方法可能带来以下几个热门的研究方向。

5.1 不同类型好奇心在心理成分和神经机制上的共性与差异

虽然 Berlyne (1954)对于好奇心的分类得到了广泛认可, 但是好奇心的分类大多取决于学者们直觉上的差异(Kidd & Hayden, 2015), 而不是基于好奇心的心理成分或神经机制。现在大量研究使用不同的实验范式诱导出不同类型的好奇心, 但都将它看作一种普遍的好奇心进行研究, 更多关注好奇心的共性成分, 较少研究不同类型的好奇心可能存在的心理和神经机制上的差异。因此, 未来研究应该更加关注不同种类好奇心的差异, 这不仅为好奇心的分类方式提供新的心理和神经基础的证据, 也能从侧面推动好奇心共性研究的发展。

5.2 好奇心与其他概念的相似性和差异性

好奇心与兴趣之间的异同点已经得到充分研究, 但仍有一些其他概念与好奇心之间的关系尚未得到充分论证。例如好奇心与饥饿、归属感等基本内在驱动力, 以及好奇心与信息寻求、探索行为等之间的关系还不完全明确。

5.3 特质好奇心和状态好奇心之间的关系

好奇心既是一种特质, 也是一种状态, 而研究者可能过分对立看待二者之间的关系。影响状态好奇心的重要因素之一是个体的特质好奇心, 此外还有个体对对象的了解程度、认知方式等。因此, 未来研究者可以通过认知计算模型探索不同因素对不同种类的状态好奇心的影响, 并进一步明确特质好奇心与状态好奇心之间的关系。

5.4 认知老化过程中, 好奇心是否存在代偿性的神经机制

之前的研究者提出老化和认知的脚手架理论(scaffolding theory of aging and cognition, STAC)、神经环路利用假说(compensation-related utilization of neural

circuits hypothesis, CRUNCH)等执行功能老化的代偿说理论。好奇心作为一种毕生发展、贯穿人生始终的认知过程,是否在认知老化的过程中也存在代偿性的神经机制仍有待研究。

5.5 好奇心的心理与神经机制对人工智能算法的推动具有借鉴意义

好奇心是一种生物特有的认识外部世界的经济有效的学习方式,越来越多的研究者将人类好奇心的心理与神经机制通过计算科学迁移到人工智能与机器人领域,使得人工智能获得更加全面与接近真实的人类智能。未来的研究应将好奇心的认知过程和神经机制应用到人工智能的算法中,推动人工智能在学习等领域的进步。

5.6 好奇心与焦虑之间的关系

在 Gruber 和 Ranganath (2019)提出的 PACE 框架中,LPFC 对预测误差会进行评估,判断个体产生好奇心和探索行为还是焦虑状态,这两种状态是相互冲突的:如果预测误差诱发了好奇心与探索行为,个体会通过获得知识、减少不确定性、闭合信息差距来缓解焦虑状态;而如果诱发了焦虑,则会产生一种心理防御机制,抑制好奇心和探索行为,使得个体好奇心和探索减少。好奇心与焦虑的相互影响及其机制还缺乏来自因果关系的实证研究。因此,好奇心和焦虑的关系有待进一步研究明确。

5.7 跨物种的角度研究好奇心与探索行为的机制

与其他常见的认知功能类似,之前已经有较多关于啮齿动物和非人灵长类动物的探索行为的研究,而当前成熟的动物行为学范式和前沿的生物神经调控技术使得研究角度更加细微、操作范围更大,并提供了跨物种比较的可能性。未来可以通过研究动物(包括猴子、老鼠、甚至蛔虫)的探索行为,将其与人类好奇心的心理和神经机制进行比较,从跨物种的角度来推动人类好奇心与探索行为的机制的理解和研究。

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